

# The Evening Star

With Sunday Morning Edition  
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Published by  
THE EVENING STAR NEWSPAPER COMPANY

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CPYRGHT

## 'The Final and Real Test'

Like nearly everybody else, Director Allen W. Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency still is not quite sure of all the whys, wherefores and possible consequences of the Kremlin's continuing anti-Stalin campaign. But some of his conjectures—as voiced the other day in a speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council—throw at least a little additional light on the great puzzle. And they have the further virtue of serving as a warning against optimistic conclusion-jumping of a kind that might beguile the free world into letting down its guard.

It is possible, of course, to read a number of hopeful meanings into what Russia's "collective leaders" are doing to deglorify Stalin and dissociate themselves from him, though they were once his closest and most fawning collaborators. Mr. Dulles believes that they have been motivated only in part by a desire to acquire international respectability; the more basic reason for their action, in his judgment, is that they have been driven to it by domestic pressures. There are now great numbers of educated people in the Soviet Union, and they have grown increasingly critical and restive with the passing of the years. So it is not unreasonable to assume that Nikita Khrushchev and company have found it wise and perhaps even imperative to placate this body of opinion by carrying out a "purge of Stalinism"—a purge containing a promise of higher standards of living, an end to one-man tyranny and steady progress toward genuine individual liberty and democratic government.

However, although the deglorification line creates serious problems for the internal unity and discipline of the Soviet and international Communist movement, and although it conceivably may be the forerunner of great liberalizing developments in the USSR, there is a world of difference between a mere promise and its fulfillment. For his own part, while not ruling out the possibility that the Kremlin's present course may lead eventually to good changes, Mr. Dulles is not inclined to be optimistic. As he sees

the situation, "A dead and dishonored Stalin . . . is likely to be merely a device . . . with which the long-suffering Russian people are, I fear, to be deceived in their expectation of a freer and better life." He suspects, in short, that Mr. Khrushchev and the other "collective leaders" are simply doing what they are impelled to do to consolidate themselves in power, and he also suspects that they may yet narrow down to another one-man tyranny.

In any event, as the CIA director has warned, "The final and real test of the Soviet leaders will remain their willingness to accept those basic institutional changes that can give the Russian people and the world in general genuine assurance that a one-man or three or four-man dictatorship cannot again plot in secret the massive domestic or international crimes" carried out by the Kremlin under Stalin. In that respect the changes that are most needed call for the creation of opposition parties, an independent judiciary and a free press. Quite obviously, until such institutions are brought into being in the USSR, there will be a dangerous tyranny over there, and we and our allies had better not slacken in our armed vigilance against it.